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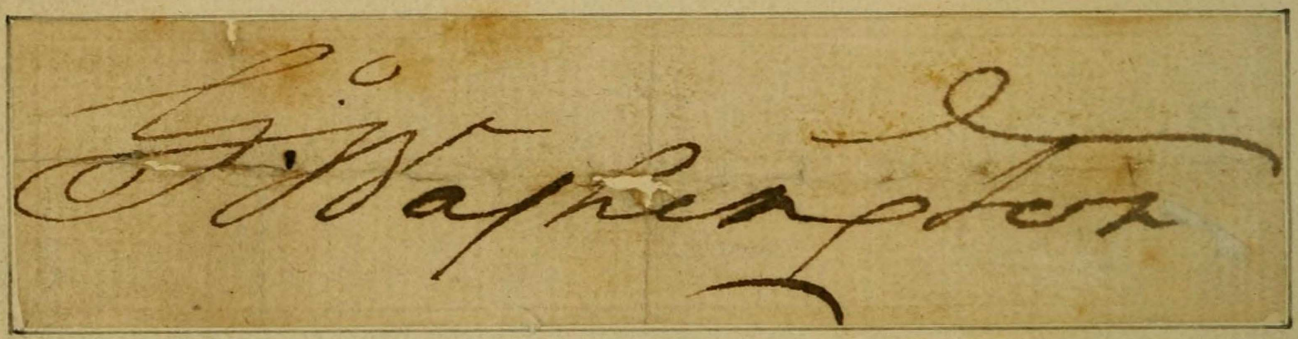

THE JOURNAL OF MAJOR *George Washington*,

SENT BY THE

Hon. ROBERT DINWIDDIE, Esq; His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in Chief of *Virginia*,

TO THE

COMMANDANT of the *French* Forces

ON

OHIO.

To which are added, the

GOVERNOR'S LETTER:

AND A

TRANSLATION of the *French* Officer's Answer.

WITH

A New MAP of the Country as far as the *MISSISSIPPI*.

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SIX NATIONS
Senekas
Onawheh
Onondagaws
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Konasa
Kayowgaws
Niagara Catarract 137 feet
L. St Clair
Wiskonsing R.
Quakers or Foxes R.
Fr Fort
LAKE ERRI or OKSWEGO
120 Miles
Assemipi R.
R. St Joseph
Missisipi River
CHIKTAGHIKS or Illinois R.
Illinois R.
Teaskiki R.
Iroheis R.
TWIGTWIS or ILINOIS
Fr Fort
Pikkavalinna Eng.
MIYAMIS
ruin'd Fort
Kahokias & Tamaroas Fr.
Missouri R.
The space between the Alligany Mountains and the Missisipi is made too great in the Fr. Maps.
Lead Mine
Fort Chartres Fr.
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Ohayoh, Wabash or St. Jerom R.
Miamis R.
Silverfer R.
Hokshaking
Hokshokung R.
Kiskoma
Shannoah or Lower Shinanos
Fair River
Ohio or the Salitsk R.
Little Kanhawey
Great Kanhawey or New River
Elk or Guiendot Cr.
Louisa or Tatarape R.
Alliganey Ridge
Blue Ridge
Stackadot Fr.
The Falls 6 Miles long
Ohio R. 2 Cave in a Rock
ruin'd Fort Fr.
Cr. Creek or River
T. Town
F. Fort. Fr. French
R. River
Fredericks R.
Cumberland R.
Hogheege or Alamans R.
Powtaw R.
Hughes R.
Mulleys R.
Hunting Cr.
Walkers Settlem.t 1750
Poleson or Kanhaw R.
New R.
Roanoke R.
Yadkin R.
Fall
Hogheege R.
fit place for a Port.
Long.d W. from Ferro
70
65
60
Line dividing Virginia from Carolina
NORTH CAROLINA
Saluda R.
Sioto R.
Kanawagan R.
Ohio or Alliganey R.
Buffaloons
PENSYLVANIA
ENDLESS MOUNTAINS
Susquehana R.
Sasquehana S. Branch
Juniata R.
Delaware R.
Tuscaroras
Masks Ingdom
White Womens R.
Great Beaver Cr.
Sittering Buffaloe T.
Shurpine T.
Onondagoes
Kuskuskas
Delawares
Tulpehocken Creeks
Shamokin
Susquehanna R.
Tioga
Fort Allen
Fort Augusta
Sunbury
Northumberland
Wyoming
Wyoming R.
Kanawagan R.
Fort Settlem.t
Wills Cr.
Winchester
Potomack R.
Shenandoah R.
Delaware Bay
Delaware R.
PHILADELPHIA
MARYLAND
Fredericksburg
WILLIAMSBURG
Shanopins are those named Chaouanons in the French Maps Shanaws & Shanoah in this Map.
The Shawanans are the same with y.e Senekas
MAP of the Western parts of the COLONY of VIRGINIA, as far as the Missisipi.

ADVERTISEMENT.

AS it was thought adviſeable by his Honour the Governor *to have the following Account of my Proceedings to and from the* French *on* Ohio, *committed to Print; I think I can do no leſs than apologize, in ſome Meaſure, for the numberleſs Imperfections of it.*

There intervened but one Day between my Arrival in Williamſburg, *and the Time for the Council's Meeting, for me to prepare and tranſcribe, from the rough Minutes I had taken in my Travels, this Journal; the writing of which only was ſufficient to employ me cloſely the whole Time, conſequently admitted of no Leiſure to conſult of a new and proper Form to offer it in, or to correct or amend the Diction of the old: Neither was I appriſed, nor did in the leaſt conceive, when*

when I wrote this for his Honour's Perusal, that it ever would be published, or even have more than a cursory Reading; till I was informed, at the Meeting of the present General Assembly, that it was already in the Press.

There is nothing can recommend it to the Public, but this. Those Things which came under the Notice of my own Observation, I have been explicit and just in a Recital of:——Those which I have gathered from Report, I have been particularly cautious not to augment, but collected the Opinions of the several Intelligencers, and selected from the whole, the most probable and consistent Account.

G. WASHINGTON.

THE

JOURNAL, &c.

Wednesday, October 31st, 1753.

I WAS commissioned and appointed by the Honourable *Robert Dinwiddie*, Esq; Governor, *&c.* of *Virginia*, to visit and deliver a Letter to the Commandant of the *French* Forces on the *Ohio*, and set out on the intended Journey the same Day: The next, I arrived at *Fredericksburg*, and engaged Mr. *Jacob Vanbraam*, to be my *French* Interpreter; and proceeded with him to *Alexandria*, where we provided Necessaries. From thence we went to *Winchester*, and got Baggage, Horses, *&c.* and from thence we pursued the new Road to *Wills-Creek*, where we arrived the 14th of *November*.

Here I engaged Mr. *Gist* to pilot us out, and also hired four others as Servitors, *Barnaby Currin*,

and *John Mac-Quire*, Indian Traders, *Henry Steward*, and *William Jenkins*; and in Company with thoſe Perſons, left the Inhabitants the Day following.

The exceſſive Rains and vaſt Quantity of Snow which had fallen, prevented our reaching Mr. *Frazier*'s, an Indian Trader, at the Mouth of *Turtle*-Creek, on *Monongahela* [River] till *Thurſday* the 22d. We were informed here, that Expreſſes had been ſent a few Days before to the Traders down the River, to acquaint them with the *French* General's Death, and the Return of the major Part of the *French* Army into Winter Quarters.

The Waters were quite impaſſable, without ſwimming our Horſes; which obliged us to get the Loan of a Canoe from *Frazier*, and to ſend *Barnaby Currin*, and *Henry Steward*, down the *Monongahela*, with our Baggage, to meet us at the Forks of *Ohio*, about 10 Miles, there to croſs the *Aligany*.*

As I got down before the Canoe, I ſpent ſome Time in viewing the Rivers, and the Land in the Fork; which I think extremely well ſituated for a Fort, as it has the abſolute Command of both Rivers. The Land at the Point is 20 or 25 Feet above the common Surface of the Water; and a conſiderable Bottom of flat, well-timbered Land all around it, very convenient for Building: The Rivers are each a Quarter of a Mile, or more, acroſs, and run here very near at right Angles: *Aligany* bearing N. E. and *Monongahela* S. E. The former of theſe two is a very rapid and ſwift running Water; the other deep and ſtill, without any perceptible Fall.

About two Miles from this, on the South Eaſt Side of the River, at the Place where the *Ohio*

* The *Ohio* and *Aligany* are the ſame River.

Company

Company intended to erect a Fort, lives *Shingiſs*, King of the *Delawares*: We called upon him, to invite him to Council at the *Loggs*-Town.

As I had taken a good deal of Notice Yeſterday of the Situation at the *Forks*, my Curioſity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for Defence or Advantages; eſpecially the latter: For a Fort at the *Forks* would be equally well ſituated on the *Ohio*, and have the entire Command of the *Monongahela*; which runs up to our Settlements and is extremely well deſigned for Water Carriage, as it is of a deep ſtill Nature. Beſides a Fort at the *Fork* might be built at a much leſs Expence, than at the other Place.—

Nature has well contrived this lower Place, for Water Defence; but the Hill whereon it muſt ſtand being about a Quarter of a Mile in Length, and then deſcending gradually on the Land Side, will render it difficult and very expenſive, to make a ſufficient Fortification there.—The whole Flat upon the Hill muſt be taken-in, the Side next the Deſcent made extremely high, or elſe the Hill itſelf cut away: Otherwiſe, the Enemy may raiſe Batteries within that Diſtance without being expoſed to a ſingle Shot from the Fort.

Shingiſs attended us to the *Loggs*-Town, where we arrived between Sun-ſetting and Dark, the 25th Day after I left *Williamſburg*. We travelled over ſome extreme good and bad Land, to get to this Place.—

As ſoon as I came into Town, I went to *Monakatoocha* (as the Half-king was out at his hunting-Cabbin on little *Beaver*-Creek, about 15 Miles off) and informed him by *John Daviſon* my *Indian* Interpreter, that I was ſent a Meſſenger to the *French* General; and was ordered to call upon the Sachems of the *Six Nations*, to acquaint them with it.—

it.—I gave him a String of Wampum †, and a Twiſt of Tobacco, and deſired him to ſend for the Half-King; which he promiſed to do by a Runner in the Morning, and for other Sachems.—I invited him and the other great Men preſent to my Tent, where they ſtay'd about an Hour and return'd.

According to the beſt Obſervations I could make, Mr. *Giff*'s new Settlement (which we paſs'd by) bears about W. N. W. 70 Miles from *Wills*-Creek; *Shanapins*, or the Forks N. by W. or N. N. W. about 50 Miles from that; and from thence to the *Loggs*-Town, the Courſe is nearly Weſt about 18 or 20 Miles: So that the whole Diſtance, as we went and computed it, is at leaſt 135 or 140 Miles from our back Inhabitants.

25*th*, Came to Town four of ten *Frenchmen* who had deſerted from a Company at the *Kuſkuſkas*, which lies at the Mouth of this River. I got the following Account from them. They were ſent from *New-Orleans* with 100 Men, and 8 Canoe-Loads of Proviſions to this Place; where they expected to have met the ſame Number of Men, from the Forts on this Side Lake *Erie*, to convoy them and the Stores up, who were not arrived when they ran-off.

I enquired into the Situation of the *French*, on the *Miſſiſſippi*, their Number, and what Forts they had built. They inform'd me, That there were four ſmall Forts between *New-Orleans* and the *Black-Iſlands*, garriſon'd with about 30 or 40 Men, and a few ſmall Pieces in each: That at *New-Orleans*, which is near the Mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi*, there are 35 Companies, of 40 Men each, with a pretty ſtrong Fort mounting 8 Carriage Guns; and at the *Black-Iſlands* there are ſeveral Companies, and a Fort with 6 Guns. The *Black-Iſlands* are

† A kind of *Indian* Money; alſo given as a Preſent or Mark of Friendſhip.

about

about 130 Leagues above the Mouth of the *Ohio*, which is about 350 above *New-Orleans*. They alſo acquainted me, that there was a ſmall palliſado'd Fort on the *Ohio*, at the Mouth of the *Obaiſh* about 60 Leagues from the *Miſſiſipi*. The *Obaiſh* * heads near the Weſt End of Lake *Erie*, and affords the Communication between the *French* on *Miſſiſippi* and thoſe on the Lakes. Theſe Deſerters came up from the lower *Shanoah* Town with one *Brown*, an *Indian* Trader, and were going to *Philadelphia*.

About 3 o'Clock this Evening the Half-King came to Town. I went up and invited him with *Daviſon*, privately, to my Tent; and deſir'd him to relate ſome of the Particulars of his Journey to the *French* Commandant, and Reception there: Alſo to give me an Account of the Ways and Diſtance. He told me, that the neareſt and leveleſt Way was now impaſſable, by Reaſon of many large mirey Savannas; that we muſt be obliged to go by *Venango*, and ſhould not get to the near Fort under 5 or 6 Nights Sleep, good Travelling. When he went to the Fort, he ſaid he was received in a very ſtern Manner by the late Commander; Who aſk'd him very abruptly, what he had come about, and to declare his Buſineſs: Which he ſaid he did in the following Speech.

Fathers, I am come to tell you your own Speeches; what your own Mouths have declared. Fathers, You, in former Days, ſet a Silver Baſon before us, wherein there was the Leg of a Beaver, and deſir'd all the Nations to come and eat of it; to eat in Peace and Plenty, and not to be churliſh to one another: And that if any ſuch Perſon ſhould be found to be a Diſturber, I here lay down by the Edge of the Diſh a

* Or *Wabaſh*, written by the *French Ouabach*.

Rod,

Rod, which you muſt ſcourge them with; and if I your Father, ſhould get fooliſh, in my old Days, I deſire you may uſe it upon me as well as others.

Now Fathers, it is you who are the Diſturbers in this Land, by coming and building your Towns; and taking it away unknown to us, and by Force.

Fathers, We kindled a Fire a long Time ago, at a Place called Montreal, *where we deſired you to ſtay, and not to come and intrude upon our Land. I now deſire you may diſpatch to that Place; for be it known to you, Fathers, that this is our Land, and not yours.*

Fathers, I deſire you may hear me in Civilneſs; if not, we muſt handle that Rod which was laid down for the Uſe of the abſtreperous. If you had come in a peaceable Manner, like our Brothers the Engliſh, *we ſhould not have been againſt your trading with us, as they do;* BUT TO COME, FATHERS, AND BUILD HOUSES UPON OUR LAND, AND TO TAKE IT BY FORCE, IS WHAT WE CANNOT SUBMIT TO.

Fathers, Both you and the Engliſh *are white, we live in a Country between; therefore the Land belongs to neither one nor t'other: But the Great Being above allow'd it to be a Place of Reſidence for us; ſo Fathers, I deſire you to withdraw, as I have done our Brothers the* Engliſh: *For I will keep you at Arms length. I lay this down as a Trial for both, to ſee which will have the greateſt Regard to it, and that Side we will ſtand by, and make equal Sharers with us. Our Brothers the* Engliſh *have heard this, and I come now to tell it to you; for I am not afraid to diſcharge you off this Land.*

This he ſaid was the Subſtance of what he ſpoke to the General, who made this Reply.

Now

Now my Child, I have heard your Speech: You ſpoke firſt, but it is my Time to ſpeak now. Where is my Wampum that you took away, with the Marks of Towns in it? This Wampum I do not know, which you have diſcharged me off the Land with: But you need not put yourſelf to the Trouble of ſpeaking, for I will not hear you. I am not afraid of Flies, or Muſquitos, for Indians *are ſuch as thoſe. I tell you, down that River I will go, and will build upon it, according to my Command. If the River was block'd up, I have Forces ſufficient to burſt it open, and tread under my Feet all that ſtand in Oppoſition, together with their Alliances; for my Force is as the Sand upon the Sea Shore: Therefore, here is your Wampum, I fling it at you. Child, you talk fooliſh; you ſay this Land belongs to you, but there is not the Black of my Nail yours. I ſaw that Land ſooner than you did, before the Shannoahs and you were at War:* Lead *was the Man who went down, and took Poſſeſſion of that River: It is my Land, and I will have it, let who will ſtand-up for, or ſay-againſt, it. I'll buy and ſell with the* Engliſh, (mockingly). *If People will be rul'd by me, they may expect Kindneſs, but not elſe.*

The Half-King told me he enquired of the General after two *Engliſhmen* who were made Priſoners, and received this Anſwer.

Child, You think it is a very great Hardſhip that I made Priſoners of thoſe two People at Venango. *Don't you concern yourſelf with it: We took and carried them to* Canada, *to get Intelligence of what the* Engliſh *were doing in* Virginia.

He informed me that they had built two Forts, one on Lake *Erie*, and another on *French*-Creek,

near a ſmall Lake about 15 Miles aſunder, and a large Waggon Road between: They are both built after the ſame Model, but different in the Size; that on the Lake the largeſt. He gave me a Plan of them, of his own drawing.

The *Indians* enquired very particularly after their Brothers in *Carolina* Goal.

They alſo aſked what Sort of a Boy it was who was taken from the *South*-Branch; for they were told by ſome *Indians*, that a Party of *French Indians* had carried a white Boy by the *Kuſkuſka* Town, towards the Lakes.

26*th*. We met in Council at the *Long-Houſe*, about 9 o'Clock, where I ſpoke to them as follows.

Brothers, I have called you together in Council, by Order of your Brother the Governor of Virginia, *to acquaint you, that I am ſent, with all poſſible Diſpatch, to viſit, and deliver a Letter to the* French *Commandant, of very great Importance to your Brothers the* Engliſh; *and I dare ſay, to you their Friends and Allies.*

I was deſired, Brothers, by your Brother the Governor, to call upon you, the Sachems of the Nations, to inform you of it, and to aſk your Advice and Aſſiſtance to proceed the neareſt and beſt Road to the French. *You ſee, Brothers, I have gotten thus far on my Journey.*

His Honour likewiſe deſired me to apply to you for ſome of your young Men, to conduct and provide Proviſions for us on our Way; and be a Safeguard againſt thoſe French Indians *who have taken up the Hatchet againſt us. I have ſpoke this particularly to you, Brothers, becauſe his Honour our Governor treats you as good Friends and Allies; and holds you in great Eſteem.*

Eſteem. To confirm what I have ſaid, I give you this String of Wampum.

After they had conſidered for ſome Time on the above Diſcourſe, the Half-King got up and ſpoke.

Now, my Brothers, in Regard to what my Brother the Governor has deſired me, I return you this Anſwer.

I rely upon you as a Brother ought to do, as you ſay we are Brothers and one People: We ſhall put Heart in Hand, and ſpeak to our Fathers the French *concerning the Speech they made to me; and you may depend that we will endeavour to be your Guard.*

Brother, as you have aſked my Advice, I hope you will be ruled by it, and ſtay till I can provide a Company to go with you. The French *Speech-Belt is not here, I have it to go for to my hunting-Cabbin: Likewiſe the People whom I have ordered in, are not yet come, nor cannot till the third Night from this; till which Time, Brother, I muſt beg you to ſtay.*

I intend to ſend a Guard of Mingo's, Shannoahs, *and* Delawares, *that our Brothers may ſee the Love and Loyalty we bear them.*

As I had Orders to make all poſſible Diſpatch, and waiting here was very contrary to my Inclination, I thanked him in the moſt ſuitable Manner I could; and told him, that my Buſineſs required the greateſt Expedition, and would not admit of that Delay. He was not well pleaſed that I ſhould offer to go before the Time he had appointed, and told me, that he could not conſent to our going without a Guard, for Fear ſome Accident ſhould befal us, and draw a Reflection upon him. Beſides, ſays he, this is a Matter of no ſmall Moment, and muſt

not

not be entered into without due Conſideration: For now I intend to deliver up the *French*-Speech-Belt, and make the *Shanoahs* and *Delawares* do the ſame. And accordingly he gave Orders to King *Shingiſs*, who was preſent, to attend on *Wedneſday* Night with the Wampum; and two Men of their Nation to be in Readineſs to ſet-out with us next Morning. As I found it was impoſſible to get-off without affronting them in the moſt egregious Manner, I conſented to ſtay.

I gave them back a String of Wampum which I met with at Mr. *Frezier*'s, and which they had ſent with a Speech to his Honour the Governor, to inform him, that three Nations of *French Indians*, viz. *Chippoways*, *Ottoways*, and *Orundaks*, had taken-up the Hatchet againſt the *Engliſh*; and deſired them to repeat it over again: But this they poſtponed doing till they met in full Council with the *Shannoahs* and *Delaware* Chiefs.

27*th*. Runners were diſpatched very early for the *Shannoah* Chiefs. The Half-King ſet out himſelf to fetch the *French*-Speech-Belt from his hunting Cabbin.

28*th*. He returned this Evening, and came with *Monokatoocha*, and two other Sachems to my Tent; and begged (as they had complied with his Honour the Governor's Requeſt, in providing Men, *&c.*) to know on what Buſineſs we were going to the *French?* this was a Queſtion I all along expected, and had provided as ſatisfactory Anſwers to, as I could; which allayed their Curioſity a little.

Monokatoocha informed me, that an *Indian* from *Venango* brought News, a few Days ago, that the *French* had called all the *Mingo's*, *Delawares*, &c. together at that Place; and told them, that they intended

intended to have been down the River this Fall, but the Waters were growing cold, and the Winter advancing, which obliged them to go into Quarters: But that they might aſſuredly expect them in the Spring, with a far greater Number; and deſired that they might be quite paſſive, and not to intermeddle, unleſs they had a Mind to draw all their Force upon them: For that they expected to fight the *Engliſh* three Years (as they ſuppoſed there would be ſome Attempts made to ſtop them) in which Time they ſhould conquer: But that if they ſhould prove equally ſtrong, they and the *Engliſh*, would join to cut them all off, and divide the Land between them: That though they had loſt their General, and ſome few of their Soldiers, yet there were Men enough to reinforce them, and make them Maſters of the *Ohio*.

This Speech, he ſaid, was delivered to them by one Captain *Joncaire* their Interpreter in Chief, living at *Venango*, and a Man of Note in the Army.

29*th*. The Half-King and *Monokatoocha*, came very early, and begged me to ſtay one Day more: For notwithſtanding they had uſed all the Diligence in their Power, the *Shanoah* Chiefs had not brought the Wampum they ordered, but would certainly be in To-night; if not, they would delay me no longer, but would ſend it after us as ſoon as they arrived. When I found them ſo preſſing in their Requeſt, and knew that returning of Wampum was the aboliſhing of Agreements; and giving this up, was ſhaking-off all Dependance upon the *French*, I conſented to ſtay, as I believed an Offence offered at this Criſis, might be attended with greater ill Conſequence, than another Day's Delay. They alſo informed me, that *Shingiſs* could not get-in his Men; and was prevented from coming

ing himſelf by his Wife's Sickneſs, (I believe, by Fear of the *French*); but that the Wampum of that Nation was lodged with *Kuſtaloga* one of their Chiefs at *Venango*.

In the Evening late they came again and acquainted me that the *Shannoahs* were not yet arrived, but that it ſhould not retard the Proſecution of our Journey. He delivered in my Hearing, the Speeches that were to be made to the *French* by *Jeſkakake*, one of their old Chiefs, which was giving-up the Belt the late Commandant had aſked for, and repeating near the ſame ſpeech he himſelf had done before.

He alſo delivered a String of Wampum to this Chief, which was ſent by King *Shingiſs*, to be given to *Kuſtaloga*, with Orders to repair to the *French*, and deliver-up the Wampum.

He likewiſe gave a very large String of black and white Wampum, which was to be ſent up immediately to the Six Nations, if the *French* refuſed to quit the Land at this Warning; which was the third and laſt Time, and was the Right of this *Jeſkakake* to deliver.

30*th*. Laſt Night the great Men aſſembled to their Council-Houſe, to conſult further about this Journey, and who were to go: The Reſult of which was, that only three of their Chiefs, with one of their beſt Hunters, ſhould be our Convoy. The Reaſon they gave for not ſending more, after what had been propoſed at Council the 26th, was, that a greater Number might give the *French* Suſpicions of ſome bad Deſign, and cauſe them to be treated rudely: But I rather think they could not get their Hunters in.

We ſet out about 9 o'Clock with the Half-King, *Jeſkakake*, *White Thunder*, and the Hunter; and travelled

travelled on the Road to *Venango*, where we arrived the 4th of *December*, without any Thing remarkable happening but a continued Series of bad Weather.

This is an old *Indian* Town, ſituated at the Mouth of *French* Creek on *Ohio*; and lies near N. about 60 Miles from the *Loggs*-Town, but more than 70 the Way we were obliged to go.

We found the *French* Colours hoiſted at a Houſe from which they had driven Mr. *John Frazier*, an *Engliſh* Subject. I immediately repaired to it, to know where the Commander reſided. There were three Officers, one of whom, Capt. *Joncaire*, informed me, that he had the Command of the *Ohio*: But that there was a General Officer at the near Fort, where he adviſed me to apply for an Anſwer. He invited us to ſup with them; and treated us with the greateſt Complaiſance.

The Wine, as they doſed themſelves pretty plentifully with it, ſoon baniſhed the Reſtraint which at firſt appeared in their Converſation; and gave a Licence to their Tongues to reveal their Sentiments more freely.

They told me, That it was their abſolute Deſign to take Poſſeſſion of the *Ohio*, and by G— they would do it: For that altho' they were ſenſible the *Engliſh* could raiſe two Men for their one; yet they knew, their Motions were too ſlow and dilatory to prevent any Undertaking of theirs. They pretend to have an undoubted Right to the River, from a Diſcovery made by one *La Solle* 60 Years ago; and the Riſe of this Expedition is, to prevent our ſettling on the River or Waters of it, as they had heard of ſome Families moving-out in Order thereto. From the beſt Intelligence I could get, there have been 1500 Men on this Side *Ontario*

Lake: But upon the Death of the General all were recalled to about 6 or 700, who were left to garriſon four Forts, 150 or there abouts in each. The firſt of them is on *French*-Creek, near a ſmall Lake, about 60 Miles from *Venango*, near N.N.W. the next lies on Lake *Erie*, where the greater Part of their Stores are kept, about 15 Miles from the other. From this it is 120 Miles to the carrying Place, at the Falls of Lake *Erie*, where there is a ſmall Fort; which they lodge their Goods at, in bringing them from *Montreal*, the Place whence all their Stores come from. The next Fort lies about 20 Miles from this, on *Ontario*-Lake. Between this Fort and *Montreal* there are three others, the firſt of which is near oppoſite to the *Engliſh* Fort *Oſwego*. From the Fort on Lake *Erie* to *Montreal* is about 600 Miles, which they ſay requires no more, if good Weather, than four Weeks Voyage, if they go in Barks or large Veſſels, ſo that they may croſs the Lake: But if they come in Canoes it will require 5 or 6 Weeks, for they are obliged to keep under the Shore.

5th. Rain'd exceſſively all Day, which prevented our Travelling. Capt. *Joncaire* ſent for the Half-King, as he had but juſt heard that he came with me: He affected to be much concerned that I did not make free to bring them in before. I excuſed it in the beſt Manner I was capable, and told him, I did not think their Company agreeable, as I had heard him ſay a good deal in Diſpraiſe of *Indians* in general. But another Motive prevented me from bringing them into his Company: I knew he was Interpreter, and a Perſon of very great Influence among the *Indians*, and had lately uſed all poſſible Means to draw them over to their Intereſt; therefore I was deſirous of giving no Opportunity that could be avoided.

When

When they came in, there was great Pleaſure expreſſed at ſeeing them. He wondred how they could be ſo near without coming to viſit him; made ſeveral trifling Preſents; and applied Loquor ſo faſt, that they were ſoon rendred incapable of the Buſineſs they came about, notwithſtanding the Caution which was given.

6th. The Half-King came to my Tent, quite ſober, and inſiſted very much that I ſhould ſtay and hear what he had to ſay to the *French*. I fain would have prevented his ſpeaking any Thing, till he came to the Commandant; but could not prevail. He told me, that at this Place a Council Fire was kindled, where all their Buſineſs with theſe People was to be tranſacted; and that the Management of the *Indian* Affairs was left ſolely to Monſieur *Joncaire*. As I was deſirous of knowing the Iſſue of this, I agreed to ſtay: But ſent our Horſes a little Way up *French* Creek, to raft over and encamp; which I knew would make it near Night.

About 10 o'Clock they met in Council. The King ſpoke much the ſame as he had before done to the General; and offered the *French* Speech-Belt which had before been demanded, with the Marks of four Towns on it, which Monſieur *Joncaire* refuſed to receive; but defired him to carry it to the Fort to the Commander.

7th. Monſieur *La Force*, Commiſſary of the *French* Stores, and three other Soldiers came over to accompany us up. We found it extremely difficult to get the *Indians* off To-day, as every Stratagem had been uſed to prevent their going-up with me. I had laſt Night left *John Daviſon* (the *Indian* Interpreter whom I brought with me from Town, and ſtrictly charged him not to be out of their Company, as I could not get them over to

my Tent; for they had ſome Buſineſs with *Kuſtaloga*, chiefly to know the Reaſon why he did not deliver up the *French* Belt which he had in Keeping: But I was obliged to ſend Mr. *Giſt* over To-day to fetch them; which he did with great Perſuaſion.

At 11 o'Clock we ſet out for the Fort, and were prevented from arriving there till the 11th by exceſſive Rains, Snows, and bad Travelling, through many Mires and Swamps. Theſe we were obliged to paſs, to avoid croſſing the Creek, which was impoſſible, either by fording or rafting, the Water was ſo high and rapid.

We paſſed over much good Land ſince we left *Venango*, and through ſeveral extenſive and very rich Meadows; one of which I believe was near four Miles in Length, and conſiderably wide in ſome Places.

12*th*. I prepared early to wait upon the Commander, and was received and conducted to him by the ſecond Officer in Command. I acquainted him with my Buſineſs, and offered my Commiſſion and Letter: Both of which he deſired me to keep till the Arrival of Monſieur *Riparti*, Captain, at the next Fort, who was ſent for and expected every Hour.

This Commander is a Knight of the military Order of St. *Lewis*, and named *Legardeur de St. Piere*. He is an elderly Gentleman, and has much the Air of a Soldier. He was ſent over to take the Command, immediately upon the Death of the late General, and arrived here about ſeven Days before me.

At 2 o'Clock the Gentleman who was ſent for arrived, when I offered the Letter, *&c.* again; which they received, and adjourned into a private Apartment for the Captain to tranſlate, who underſtood

derſtood a little *Engliſh*. After he had done it, the Commander deſired I would walk-in, and bring my Interpreter to peruſe and correct it; which I did.

13*th*. The chief Officers retired, to hold a Council of War; which gave me an Opportunity of taking the Dimenſions of the Fort, and making what Obſervations I could.

It is ſituated on the South, or Weſt Fork of *French* Creek, near the Water; and is almoſt ſurrounded by the Creek, and a ſmall Branch of it which forms a Kind of Iſland. Four Houſes compoſe the Sides. The Baſtions are made of Piles driven into the Ground, ſtanding more than 12 Feet above it, and ſharp at Top: With Port-Holes cut for Cannon, and Loop-Holes for the ſmall Arms to fire through. There are eight 6 *lb*. Pieces mounted, in each Baſtion; and one Piece of four Pound before the Gate. In the Baſtions are a Guard Houſe, Chapel, Doctor's Lodging, and the Comm[illegible]der's private Store: Round which are laid Plat-Form[illegible] for the Cannon and Men to ſtand on. There are ſeveral Barracks without the Fort, for the Soldiers Dwelling; covered, ſome with Bark, and ſome with Boards, made chiefly of Loggs. There are alſo ſeveral other Houſes, ſuch as Stables, Smiths Shop, *&c*.

I could get no certain Account of the Number of Men here: But according to the beſt Judgment I could form, there are an Hundred excluſive of Officers, of which there are many. I alſo gave Orders to the People who were with me, to take an exact Account of the Canoes which were hauled-up to convey their Forces down in the Spring. This they did, and told 50 of Birch Bark, and 170 of Pine; beſides many others which were block-ed-out, in Readineſs to make. 14*th*. As

14*th*. As the Snow encreaſed very faſt, and our Horſes daily became weaker, I ſent them off unloaded; under the Care of *Barnaby Currin* and two others, to make all convenient Diſpatch to *Venango*, and there wait our Arrival, if there was a Poſpect of the Rivers freezing: If not, then to continue down to *Shanapin*'s Town, at the Forks of *Ohio*, and there to wait till we came to croſs *Aliganey*; intending myſelf to go down by Water, as I had the Offer of a Canoe or two.

As I found many Plots concerted to retard the *Indians* Buſineſs, and prevent their returning with me; I endeavour'd all that lay in my Power to fruſtrate their Schemes, and hurry them on to execute their intended Deſign. They accordingly preſſed for Admittance this Evening, which at Length was granted them, privately, with the Commander and one or two other Officers. The Half-King told me, that he offer'd the Wampum to the Commander, who evaded taking it, and made many fair Promiſes of Love and Friendſhip; ſaid he wanted to live in Peace, and trade amicably with them, as a Proof of which he would ſend ſome Goods immediately down to the *Logg's*-Town for them. But I rather think the Deſign of that is, to bring away all our ſtraggling Traders they meet with, as I privately underſtood they intended to carry an Officer, *&c.* with them. And what rather confirms this Opinion, I was enquiring of the Commander, by what Authority he had made Priſoners of ſeveral of our *Engliſh* Subjects. He told me that the Country belong'd to them; that no *Engliſhman* had a Right to trade upon thoſe Waters; and that he had Orders to make every Perſon Priſoner who attempted it on the *Ohio*, or the Waters of it.

I enquir'd of Capt. *Riparti* about the Boy who was carried by this Place, as it was done while the Command devolved on him, between the Death of the late General, and the Arrival of the preſent. He acknowledged, that a Boy had been carried paſt; and that the *Indians* had two or three white Men's Scalps, (I was told by ſome of the *Indians* at *Venango* Eight) but pretended to have forgotten the Name of the Place which the Boy came from, and all the Particular Facts, though he had queſtion'd him for ſome Hours, as they were carrying him paſt. I likewiſe enquired what they had done with *John Trotter* and *James Mac Clocklan*, two *Penſylvania* Traders, whom they had taken, with all their Goods. They told me, that they had been ſent to *Canada*, but were now returned Home.

This Evening I received an Anſwer to his Honour the Governor's Letter from the Commandant.

15*th*, The Commandant ordered a plentiful Store of Liquor, Proviſion, *&c.* to be put on Board our Canoe; and appeared to be extremely complaiſant, though he was exerting every Artifice which he could invent to ſet our own *Indians* at Variance with us, to prevent their going 'till after our Departure. Preſents, Rewards, and every Thing which could be ſuggeſted by him or his Officers.——I can't ſay that ever in my Life I ſuffer'd ſo much Anxiety as I did in this Affair: I ſaw that every Stratagem which the moſt fruitful Brain could invent, was practiſed, to win the Half-King to their Intereſt; and that leaving him here was giving them the Opportunity they aimed at,——I went to the Half-King and preſs'd him in the ſtrongeſt Terms to go: He told me the Commandant would not diſcharge him 'till the Morning. I then went to the Commandant, and deſired him to do their Buſineſs; and com plain'd

of

of ill Treatment: For keeping them, as they were Part of my Company, was detaining me. This he promiſed not to do, but to forward my Journey as much as he could. He proteſted he did not keep them, but was ignorant of the Cauſe of their Stay; though I ſoon found it out:——He had promiſed them a preſent of Guns, *&c.* if they would wait 'till the Morning.

As I was very much preſs'd, by the *Indians*, to wait this Day for them, I conſented, on a Promiſe, That nothing ſhould hinder them in the Morning.

16*th.* The *French* were not ſlack in their Inventions to keep the *Indians* this Day alſo: But as they were obligated, according to Promiſe, to give the Preſent, they then endeavoured to try the Power of Liquor; which I doubt not would have prevailed at any other Time than this: But I urged and inſiſted with the King ſo cloſely upon his Word, that he refrained, and ſet-off with us as he had engaged.

We had a tedious and very fatiguing Paſſage down the Creek. Several Times we had like to have been ſtaved againſt Rocks; and many Times were obliged all Hands to get-out and remain in the Water Half an Hour or more, getting over the Shoals. At one Place the Ice had lodged and made it impaſſable by Water; therefore we were obliged to carry our Canoe acroſs a Neck of Land, a Quarter of a Mile over. We did not reach *Venango*, till the 22d, where we met with our Horſes.

This Creek is extremely crooked, I dare ſay the Diſtance between the Fort and *Venango* can't be leſs than 130 Miles, to follow the Meanders.

23*d*, When I got Things ready to ſet-off, I ſent for the Half-King, to know whether he intended to go with us, or by Water. He told me that *White-Thunder* had hurt himſelf much, and was ſick and unable

unable to walk; therefore he was obliged to carry him down in a Canoe. As I found he intended to ſtay here a Day or two, and knew that Monſieur *Joncaire* would employ every Scheme to ſet him againſt the *Engliſh* as he had before done; I told him I hoped he would guard againſt his Flattery, and let no fine Speeches influence him in their Favour. He deſired I might not be concerned, for he knew the *French* too well, for any Thing to engage him in their Behalf; and that though he could not go down with us, he yet would endeavour to meet at the Forks with *Joſeph Campbell*, to deliver a Speech for me to carry to his Honour the Governor. He told me he would order the young Hunter to attend us, and get Proviſion, &c. if wanted.

Our Horſes were now ſo weak and feeble, and the Baggage ſo heavy (as we were obliged to provide all the Neceſſaries which the Journey would require) that we doubted much their performing it: therefore myſelf and others (except the Drivers who were obliged to ride) gave-up our Horſes for Packs, to aſſiſt along with the Baggage. I put myſelf in an *Indian* walking Dreſs, and continued with them three Days, till I found there was no Probability of their getting home in any reaſonable Time. The Horſes grew leſs able to travel every Day; the Cold increaſed very faſt; and the Roads were becoming much worſe by a deep Snow, continually freezing: Therefore as I was uneaſy to get back, to make Report of my Proceedings to his Honour the Governor, I determined to proſecute my Journey the neareſt Way through the Woods, on Foot.

Accordingly I left Mr. *Vanbraam* in Charge of our Baggage; with Money and Directions, to provide Neceſſaries from Place to Place for themſelves

and Horſes, and to make the moſt convenient Dipatch in Travelling.

I took my neceſſary Papers; pulled-off my Cloaths; and tied myſelf up in a Match Coat. Then with Gun in Hand and Pack at my Back, in which were my Papers and Proviſions, I ſet-out with Mr. *Giſt*, fitted in the ſame Manner, on *Wedneſday* the 26th. The Day following, juſt after we had paſſed a Place called the *Murdering*-Town (where we intended to quit the Path, and ſteer acroſs the Country for *Shannapins* Town) we fell-in with a Party of *French* Indians, who had lain in Wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. *Giſt* or me, not 15 Steps off, but fortunately miſſed. We took this Fellow into Cuſtody, and kept him till about 9 o'Clock at Night: Then let him go, and walked all the remaining Part of the Night without making any Stop; that we might get the Start, ſo far, as to be out of the Reach of their Purſuit the next Day, ſince we were well aſſured they would follow our Tract as ſoon as it was light. The next Day we continued travelling till quite dark, and got to the River about two Miles above *Shannapins*. We expected to have found the River frozen, but it was not, only about 50 Yards from each Shore: The Ice I ſuppoſe had broken up above, for it was driving in vaſt Quantities.

There was no Way for getting over but on a Raft: Which we-ſet about, with but one poor Hatchet, and finiſhed juſt after Sun-ſetting. This was a whole Day's Work: we next got it launched, and went on Board of it: Then ſet-off. But before wewere Half Way over, we were jammed in the Ice, in ſuch a Manner that we expected every Moment our Raft to ſink, and ourſelves to periſh. I put-out my ſetting Pole to try to ſtop the Raft, that the Ice might paſs by; when the Rapidity of the Stream threw it with

ſo

ſo much Violence againſt the Pole, that it jirked me out into ten Feet Water: But I fortunately ſaved myſelf by catching hold of one of the Raft Logs. Notwithſtanding all our Efforts we could not get the Raft to either Shore; but were obliged, as we were near an Iſland, to quit our Raft and make to it.

The Cold was ſo extremely ſevere, that Mr. *Giſt* had all his Fingers, and ſome of his Toes frozen; and the Water was ſhut up ſo hard, that we found no Difficulty in getting-off the Iſland, on the Ice, in the Morning, and went to Mr. *Frazier*'s. We met here with 20 Warriors who were going to the *Southward* to War: But coming to a Place upon the Head of the great *Kunnaway*, where they found ſeven People killed and ſcalped (all but one Woman with very light Hair) they turned about and ran back for Fear the Inhabitants ſhould riſe and take them as the Authors of the Murder. They report that the Bodies were lying about the Houſe, and ſome of them much torn and eaten by Hogs: By the Marks which were left, they ſay they were *French* Indians of the *Ottoway* Nation, &c. who did it.

As we intended to take Horſes here, and it required ſome Time to find them, I went-up about three Miles to the Mouth of *Yaughyaughgane* to viſit Queen *Alliquippa*, who had expreſſed great Concern that we paſſed her in going to the Fort. I made her a Preſent of a Matchcoat and a Bottle of Rum; which latter was thought much the beſt Preſent of the two.

Tueſday the 1ſt Day of *January*, we left Mr. *Frazier*'s Houſe, and arrived at Mr. *Giſt*'s at *Monongahela* the 2d, where I bought a Horſe, Saddle, &c. the 6th we met 17 Horſes loaded with Materials and Stores for a Fort at the Forks of *Ohio*, and the Day after ſome Families going-out to ſettle:

This Day we arrived at *Wills* Creek, after as fatiguing a Journey as it is poſſible to conceive, rendered ſo by exceſſive bad Weather. From the firſt Day of *December* to the 15th, there was but one Day on which it did not rain or ſnow inceſſantly; and throughout the whole Journey we met-with nothing but one continued Series of cold wet Weather, which occaſioned very uncomfortable Lodgings; eſpecially after we had quitted our Tent, which was ſome Screen from the Inclemency of it.

On the 11th I got to *Belvoir*; where I ſtopped one Day to take neceſſary Reſt; and then ſet out, and arrived in *Williamſburgh* the 16th; when I waited upon his Honour the Governor with the Letter I had brought from the *French* Commandant; and to give an Account of the Succeſs of my Proceedings. This I beg Leave to do by offering the foregoing Narrative as it contains the moſt remarkable Occurrences which happened in my Journey.

I hope what has been ſaid will be ſufficient to make your Honour ſatisfied with my Conduct; for that was my Aim in undertaking the Journey, and chief Study throughout the Proſecution of it.

With the Hope of doing it, I, with infinite Pleaſure ſubſcribe myſelf,

Your Honour's moſt Obedient,

And very humble Servant,

G. Waſhington.

COPY

COPY of his Honour the GOVERNOR'S *Letter, to the Commandant of the* French *Forces on the* OHIO, *ſent by Major* Waſhington.

SIR,

THE Lands upon the River *Ohio*, in the Weſtern Parts of the Colony of *Virginia*, are ſo notoriouſly known to be the Property of the Crown of *Great-Britain*; that it is a Matter of equal Concern and Surprize to me, to hear that a Body of *French* Forces are erecting Fortreſſes, and making Settlements upon that River, within his Majeſty's Dominions.

The many and repeated Complaints I have received of theſe Acts of Hoſtility, lay me under the Neceſſity, of ſending, in the Name of the King my Maſter, the Bearer hereof, *George Waſhington*, Eſq; one of the Adjutants General of the Forces of this Dominion; to complain to you of the Encroachments thus made, and of the Injuries done to the Subjects of *Great-Britain*, in open Violation of the Law of Nations, and the Treaties now ſubſiſting between the two Crowns.

If theſe Facts are true, and you ſhall think fit to juſtify your Proceedings, I muſt deſire you to acquaint me, by whoſe Authority and Inſtructions you have lately marched from *Canada*, with an armed Force; and invaded the King of *Great-Britain*'s

Britain's Territories, in the Manner complained of? that according to the Purport and Reſolution of your Anſwer, I may act agreeably to the Commiſſion I am honoured with, from the King my Maſter.

However Sir, in Obedience to my Inſtructions, it becomes my Duty to require your peaceable Departure; and that you would forbear proſecuting a Purpoſe ſo interruptive of the Harmony and good Underſtanding, which his Majeſty is deſirous to continue and cultivate with the moſt Chriſtian King.

I perſuade myſelf you will receive and entertain Major *Waſhington* with the Candour and Politeneſs natural to your Nation; and it will give me the greateſt Satisfaction, if you return him with an Anſwer ſuitable to my Wiſhes for a very long and laſting Peace between us. I have the Honour to ſubſcribe myſelf,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient,

Humble Servant,

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

Williamſburgh, in *Virginia*,
October 31ſt, 1753.

TRANS-

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mr. Legardeur de St. Piere, *a principal* French *Officer, in Anſwer to the Governor's Letter.*

SIR,

AS I have the Honour of commanding here in Chief, Mr. *Waſhington* delivered me the Letter which you wrote to the Commandant of the *French* Troops.

I ſhould have been glad that you had given him Orders, or that he had been inclined to proceed to *Canada*, to ſee our General; to whom it better belongs than to me to ſet-forth the Evidence and Reality of the Rights of the King, my Maſter, upon the Lands ſituated along the River *Ohio*, and to conteſt the Pretenſions of the King of *Great-Britain* thereto.

I ſhall tranſmit your Letter to the Marquis *Duguiſne*. His Anſwer will be a Law to me; and if he ſhall order me to communicate it to you, Sir, you may be aſſured I ſhall not fail to diſpatch it to you forthwith.

As to the Summons you ſend me to retire, I do not think myſelf obliged to obey it. Whatever may be your Inſtructions, I am here by Virtue of the Orders of my General; and I intreat you, Sir, not to doubt one Moment, but that I am determin'd to conform myſelf to them with all the Exactneſs

and

and Reſolution which can be expected from the beſt Officer.

I don't know that in the Progreſs of this Campaign any Thing has paſſed which can be reputed an Act of Hoſtility, or that is contrary to the Treaties which ſubſiſt between the two Crowns; the Continuation whereof as much intereſts, and is as pleaſing to us, as the *Engliſh*. Had you been pleaſed, Sir, to have deſcended to particularize the Facts which occaſioned your Complaint, I ſhould have had the Honour of anſwering you in the fulleſt, and, I am perſuaded, moſt ſatisfactory Manner.

I made it my particular Care to receive Mr. *Waſhington*, with a Diſtinction ſuitable to your Dignity, as well as his own Quality and great Merit. I flatter myſelf that he will do me this Juſtice before you, Sir; and that he will ſignify to you in the Manner I do myſelf, the profound Reſpect with which I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt obedient Servant,

LEGARDEUR DE ST. PIERE.

From the Fort ſur La Riviere au Beuf,
the 15*th of* December 1753.

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